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578 and forms of activity as their own and find much more inter-
561 est in them than in those of the other group. The young
men greet the suggestion that they should take their place
in the gathering of old men in something of the tone of
derision which they reserve for women. But the rivalry in
their sentiments between respect and egocentric feeling,
like the controls imposed by their parents to keep them
respectfully silent in the presence of their elders, imposes a
silence upon them. Consequently, one cannot find among
them the voluble expression of attitudes based upon one's
belonging to a certain relative age. One must look for it
rather in particular expressions of annoyance, boredom,
and chafing against restraint.

Expressions of sentiment about age are the products of
a system of values upon it in which the individual makes
the valuation from the place he occupies. They express not
only a grouping of individuals of similar age but a mutuality
between groups so composed. And, too, they form a scaffold-
ing of categorization in which each person takes his relative
place.

561 Let us examine one instance at least of this categorization.
554 The community in rural Ireland bestows many names and
titles. They are ephemeral. They have no currency outside
● 551 the immediate circle of life in the townland or village. At
888 best, they spread through a parish. They are nicknames and
express no more than the individual's particular place in
the hearts of his fellows. Yet some of them are generic
epithets. Like "old" and "young," they may prefix a name
and designate the more closely the personality of the person
named. Like "boy" and "old fellow," they may express
broad categories of a man's age and its associated behavior,
and may designate not so much a biologic or physiognomic
reality as a sociological status. The words "saint" and
cailleach are of the last kind of epithet, in rural usage. In
the brogue they refer only to the old. In strict philology

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both are metaphorical, for the brogue knows and makes use of the words in their "proper" meanings. *Cailleach*, the Gaelic word, means properly "hag" or "witch." "Saint," of course, is the canonized saint of the church.

The small farmer who refers to this or that contemporary and neighbor as a "saint" or a *cailleach* is making a social and moral categorization. He is not concerned with purity of diction. The old man or woman, who follows a behavior proper to his or her status and is an ornament to the community, is a "saint." The old man or woman who does not is the object of distrust and dislike. His or her departures from accepted conduct cause disturbance and strife in the community. Accordingly, he or she is a *cailleach*. Thus, in one North Clare community a "stranger" whom the community disliked was a *cailleach*, despite the feminine gender of the word. Likewise, the old man who lived in harmony with his son upon a farm already transferred, a leader in the village whose oldest hale inhabitant he was, could be described by a neighbor as follows:

The old man is a typical Irishman. He is a saint and there isn't a thought against anyone in him. He is always in a good humor and, if he went to town to have a drink, he could stand in the one place till he dropped. He is as gentle and harmless as a child, and it will be a great loss to the village when he is gone. He and Roche [a neighbor] are two level-headed farmers and they have met every sort of trouble. If you are in doubt about any farm advice, you can go to them and they will give you as good advice as you can get, because both of them have been successful farmers. It would pay a young man to listen to them.

"Saintliness" of this kind is a matter of one's filling one's role. But it is one's role for the village that counts. There is nothing individual in the canon of conduct. The young person who follows ardently the conventions laid down for him is not a "saint" even if he is exceedingly chaste and religious. It is the word "holy," not "saint," which comes

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561 to the countryman's lips in describing him. Nor is a young
554 person a *cailleach*, for, like "saint," the term applies only to
● 551 the old. Both terms refer to sociological age rather than
888 chronological age, for those old people who occupy the role
of "old" only because they have been forced into that position within the farm family can also be "saints." Thus the elder sister described in the discussion of farm marriage, who occupied the west room and the hob by the fire, was known in the neighborhood as a "saint."

Relative age makes a difference in status in the local community. It fits one into a definite place in a scheme of values. And lastly, as in the description of "saint," it equips one with a definite role in communal life which one can fill well or ill.

561 The conduct that reflects this state of affairs thrusts itself
554 into the observer's view again and again in rural Ireland
888 wherever he meets countrymen of different ages together. The relations between young and old in the community, like those between parent and child within the family, are understandable in the light of the roles of such broad age groups in terms of status.

First, there is the matter of privilege and precedence. To an outsider there may seem little enough in the countryman's way of life to allow for such distinctions. But from within, that little looms much greater. The old fellow, the men of full status who head farms and farm-working corporations of sons — those who have turned or are about to turn over their control to a younger generation — are accorded a very real precedence. In their own houses we have seen it to be very great. In the community at large it is little less so. A farmer visiting another takes his place at the hearth seat. His sons lag behind and occupy the back of the room. When the community gathers in the wake house to honor the dead, the places by the fire go to the older men and women. The boys and girls must group themselves behind. They come forward only when called upon. At

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182 through rural life under normal circumstances is not toward
554 a greater and greater prominence in the activities of the
621 young men's group. Rather, there comes a time when one
888 must break away altogether. One faces perforce a new
orientation of sentiment and a new kind of behavior. Growing old brings many more changes than the physiological.

888 The case of the newcomer, John Quin, already described,
573 shows the necessary changes. In Rynamona it is brought out
825 very clearly in the clique to which he first belonged and
554 to which we have referred at various times, calling it once the "intermediate."

[55] The clique we name so met at the house of one Joseph McMahon, more commonly known as Oskair (the Hercules of Irish saga) for his physical strength. Oskair was a rural carpenter with only a very small plot of garden and his house. But he was a good singer, a jokester, and a repository of folk tale, though he was not much past forty. He lived just at the edge of the slope leading from Kilnaboy Commons down to Rynamona. The townland was what would be called in urban sociology an "interstitial area." It was higher, rougher, and more craggy than Rynamona and Kilnaboy, lying between them. Its inhabitants were descendants of people evicted from round about who had squatted there. Most of them were "died out and left," and the place was always poor. It acted as a sort of outlying fringe of Rynamona.

The men who collected round Oskair's fire were aged thirty-five to sixty. Just as their ages were intermediate between fully old and fully young, so was their habit here. They very seldom played cards. Talk was the order of the day, enlivened by Oskair's humor and ballads. A few of them spoke of the affairs of the village with some weight. The rest did not. Those who came were as follows:

- a. Young Mackey, from the village, the man recently married, still too young for the old men's house.

561 own interests and sentiments, opposed in the scheme
888 of rural life to those of their elders. Various places,
pursuits and forms of activity are their own pre-
serve. They greet the suggestion that they should
take their place in the gatherings of the old men with
something of the derision they reserve for women.
But the ambivalence of their attitudes makes
general expression difficult. Their position imposes
silence, except among themselves. Consequently,
one finds their attitudes rather more frequently
in particular annoyances, boredoms and chafings
against restraint. Rural ceremony gives them few
outlets today; the fine articulateness of O'Rahilly's
day is either dammed or searches out more devious
outlets.

The sentiments of both groups, then, are the
products of a system of values about age status.
The individual makes his statements and entertains
his feelings by virtue of the place he occupies.
These express not only a rough grouping of indi-
viduals of similar age and status but a rough inter-
relation between the groups so composed. They
form a scaffolding of categorization in which each
person takes his relative place.

● 551 One can trace this process in rural Ireland in the
888 many names and epithets the local community
bestows. Local titles are ephemeral; they have little
currency outside the immediate circle of the town-
land and the village. At best they spread through a
parish. They are nicknames, and express no more

than the named-one's place in the hearts of his⁵⁵¹ ●
fellows. Yet many of them, too, are generic epithets⁸⁸⁸
and like 'old' and 'young' they may prefix a name
and designate the bearer's social place. They thus
come to express broad categories of a man's be-
haviour and describe not a biological or a physio-
gnomic but a sociological individuality. All well-
developed social systems show this power; rural
Ireland makes much use of it.

Thus two common epithets in the brogue are of
this latter kind. The countryman speaks often of a
'saint', in praise, and a *cailleach*, in condemnation.
Both words refer only to the 'old'. In strict lin-
guistics, both are metaphors, of course, for the
brogue knows and makes use of the words in their
proper meanings. *Cailleach*, the Gaelic word, is
properly a 'hag' or 'witch'. A 'saint', of course, is
canonized by the Church.

But the countryman who refers to this or that
contemporary as a *cailleach* or a saint is not con-
cerned with purity of diction. He is making a
sociological categorization with an ethical bias. He
is judging an old man or woman for his or her suc-
cess in filling the role rural life assigns. His thinking
is social, not reformist, as the term has come to be
loosely used, but rather conditioned within the dis-
positions of a particular social pattern. Thus one
man in Luogh, already referred to, who was a
model of family harmony and 'had a kind word for
everyone' in the local community, was a 'saint'.

551 Another old fellow, a leader in his village, could be
888 described by a neighbour as follows:

"That old man is a typical Irishman. He is a saint and there isn't a thought against anyone in him. He is always in a good humour and if he went to town to take a drink he could stand in the one place till he dropped. He is as harmless as a child. He and his friend Roche are two level-headed farmers and they have met every sort of trouble. If you are in doubt about any advice in farming, you can go to them and they will give as good advice as you can get. It would pay a young man to listen to them."

181 I have quoted this rural eulogy for a reason. It
551 shows much better than words of mine could how
888 the speaker's mind could flow uninterruptedly, without any sense of transition, from ethical judgment to agricultural advice. For 'saintliness' of this kind is a matter of filling a social role. But it is one's role for the community that counts. That role runs all the way from peaceful and friendly demeanour to directing farm work. There is nothing individual in it; it is the behaviour the community patterns about the old man. It is his *noblesse oblige*. That the word 'saint' should be borrowed from religion should surprise no one. It is merely proof that one society survives in western civilization in which theology and the popular mind have not yet suffered a divorce. The early Puritan and the ancient Roman would have understood such a state of affairs.

this way, a durable bond is created which exists ³⁶⁹
over and above the economics of retail trade. It is ⁴⁴³
of the kind that the countryman understands best; ⁵⁷¹
it charges the relationship with interest for him;
it infuses it with sentiment, habit and reciprocal
force. The shopkeeper, too, can rely upon it. Even
though he be caught in the demands it makes upon
him, he, nevertheless, can rely heavily upon its
expectancies.

The ordinary modest retail shop or pub lives
upon this tie. In many cases the tie infuses business
with a social content which becomes co-extensive
with the distributive function the shop performs in
economic exchange. If the tie is weakened, if it dies,
the shop weakens and dies too. And with it dies the
family which derives livelihood, status and much
of its corporate existence from that shop. For
possession of the shop gives status and prestige and
marks one's social place for the family, as much as
does the 'farm of land' in the countryside. The
family's 'name is on the shop' in much the same
way as the country family's name is 'on the land'.
In fact, almost symbolically, that name is literally ^[551] ●
on the shop, for in Ireland most often a single word
—the family name—rather than any announcement
of the type of retail trade carried on—hangs over
the door to proclaim the shop's existence to the
buying public. And when the 'family trade' dies,
that name dies out of the shop world with it.

Business, then, in the market-towns is no frantic

361 four houses together, which can almost invariably be shown
 174 to have once been larger: even these tiny groupings are
 referred to as "towns," and the use of this word suggests
 that such clusters were once the nuclei of the "townlands."
 * It is because of this association with the vital townland unit,
 and because many rural customs find their explanation in
 past conditions, that I have thought it worth while to attempt
 a reconstruction of the chief features of these old communities.
 This is based largely on records and on surviving examples
 which I have studied in Co. Donegal and Co. Antrim. Allow-
 ance must be made for differences between one region and
 another, but I believe the following description to be applicable
 to most parts of Ireland, though the decay of the village-
 system began earlier in some areas than in others.

Travellers a century or so ago tell us that villages with
 50 or 60 houses were not uncommon. In 1802 Donegal
 said to have had about 500 villages, with an average perhaps
 of 20 or 30 families to each, but they were "dispersing daily into
 separate habitations and holdings" (Figs. 13 & 14). One uses
 the term village for want of a better word, for such clusters
 lack many of the well-known features of the English village.
 They were essentially communities of related families bound
 together in "friendship"—the word "friend" means a
 blood-relation in Ireland—with one or two surnames pre-
 dominating in each group. This fact is still true of townland
 populations even though the holdings are scattered, and it
 helps to explain the prevalence of nicknames in rural Ireland,
 and, for the same reason, in Wales and Scotland. The houses
 were clustered without plan or order (and never strung
 together end-to-end) generally in some sheltered hollow in the
 richest part of the townland, though they might be disposed
 along a road with some semblance of regularity. Shelter is
 always the first consideration. I have been told in Donegal
 that house sites were selected by the simple process of throwing
 up a hat on a windy day and letting the wind decide by
 noting its resting place.

174 Made roads were almost unknown in hilly districts—there
 491 was "no wheel car" among a population of 8,000 in one
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10: Browne D-5 (1893) 1894

ER6 Rural Irish ER6

Inishbofin

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No.	Name.	Age.	Townland.	Eye Colour.	Hair Colour.	Skin.	REMARKS.
1	Boyce, Myles,	62	Middlequarter	blue	dark-brown	ruddy	Nose sinuous; school-master.
2	Lavelle, Anthony,	35	Knock	light-grey	dark	ruddy	Nose aquiline.
3	Reilly, John,	63	Fawnmore	blue	brown	pale	Nose straight; is somewhat bald.
4	Malia, John,	50	Westquarter	grey	dark	pale	Nose straight; bald on vertex.
5	Joyce, James,	48	Middlequarter	blue	dark	ruddy	Lobe of ear attached; large left ear only partially developed.
6	Malia, Michael,	35	Knock	blue	brown	ruddy	Nose straight.
7	Walsh, Patrick,	24	Middlequarter	blue-grey	dark	pale	Sight very keen; nose straight.
8	Halloran, John,	20	Shark	blue-grey	brown	sallow	Nose straight.
9	Cannon, Michael,	19	Middlequarter	blue	fair	pale	Lobes of ears absent.
10	King, John,	40	Cloonamore	light-grey	brown	ruddy	Vision very acute.
11	Powell, Patrick,	24	Knock	light-grey	dark	ruddy	Vision very keen; nose straight; lobes of ears attached.
12	Cloberly, Festus,	24	Knock	dark-hazel	dark	ruddy	Nose retrousse.
13	Toole, John,	21	Knock	blue	dark	pale	Nose aquiline.
14	Scuffle, Patrick,	(?)	Cloonamore	blue	dark	pale	Nose straight; would not give age; lobes of ears attached.
15	Malia, George,	24	Shark	grey	dark	pale	Lobes of ears attached; vision very keen.
16	Halloran, John,	25	Westquarter	blue	red	ruddy	Nose sinuous.
17	Kenny, Michael,	31	Cloonamore	blue	dark	ruddy	Nose straight.
18	M'Greal, Michl.,	20	Shark	green	dark	sallow	Nose straight; lobes of ears attached; a fine-looking specimen of the islanders.
19	Burk, Thomas,	19	Middlequarter	blue	brown	ruddy	Nose retrousse; lobes of ears attached.
20	Joyce, Michael,	19	Middlequarter	grey	dark-brown	pale	Nose sinuous; lobes of ears attached.
21	Prendergast, Wm.	53	Middlequarter	brown	black	ruddy	Nose straight; lobes of ears attached; teeth even and meeting.

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10: Browne D-5 (1893) 1894

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Inishbofin

141
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551
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No.	Name.	Age.	Townland.	Eye Colour.	Hair Colour.	Skin.	REMARKS.
22	Lenane, John,	50	Middlequarter	grey-blue	dark	ruddy	Lobes of ears attached.
23	Leonard, John,	30	Middlequarter	blue	brown	pale	Nose straight; lobes of ears attached; teeth meet.
24	Walsh, John,*	30	Middlequarter	brown	black	pale	Nose aquiline; lobes of ears absent; sight keen.
25	Malia, Patrick,	—	Middlequarter	blue	dark	ruddy	Nose straight; lobes of ears attached; would not give age; sight good.
26	Cannon, Edward,	54	Middlequarter	blue	dark	ruddy	Nose straight; abundant beard.
27	Cannon, John,	53	Middlequarter	blue	brown	ruddy	Nose straight; abundant beard.
28	Lavelle, —,	60	(?)	dark-hazel	dark	pale	Nose sinuous; lobes of ears attached.
29	Cloherly, Patrick	19	Westquarter	grey-blue	dark	ruddy	Nose sinuous; lobes of ears absent; vision acute.
30	Lavelle, Thomas,	36	Westquarter	blue	brown	pale	Nose sinuous.
31	Martin, Thomas,	60	Westquarter	blue	dark	pale	Hair dark, when young; lobes of ears attached; sight very keen.
32	Cloherly, John,	38	Westquarter	blue	dark	ruddy	Nose aquiline; lobes of ears attached.
33	Lavelle, Michael,	50	Knock	blue	dark	pale	Slightly bald; nose straight.
34	Moran, Michael,	55	Middlequarter	dark-grey	brown	pale	Slightly bald; nose straight.
35	Mogan, —,	23	Westquarter	grey	black	pale	Hair on face brown; nose straight.
36	Halloran, Thomas,	53	Westquarter	blue	brown	pale	Nose straight; slightly bald.
37	Halloran, Redmond,	36	Westquarter	blue	brown	pale	Obliterated folds of pinna; slightly bald; head of large size.
38	Lavelle, Patrick,	30	Fawnmore	blue	brown	pale	Nose sinuous; folds of pinna slightly obliterated.
39	Lavelle, John,	17	Fawnmore	blue	brown	pale	Hair curly; lobes of ears attached.
40	Naughten, Michl.	50	Middlequarter	blue	dark	pale	Nose straight; says he is of Scotch descent.
* Name indistinct.							

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BROWNE—*Ethnography of Inishbofin and Inishshark*. 345

Begging is practically unknown, and drunkenness, as a habit, does not exist, the sobriety being very noticeable on holidays, though occasional bouts of drinking are sometimes indulged in when a good take of fish has been made. They are very conscientious in their religious observances, and depend greatly on the advice and control of their clergy, with regard to temporal as well as spiritual affairs. Sexual irregularities are extremely rare, no case of illegitimacy having been recorded from the islands for years. [81] [735] [273] [793] [848]

As fishermen they are brave, hardy, and extremely venturesome; this applies especially to the men of Inishshark, who are reputed in Bofin to be the best and most daring boatmen on the west coast. [181]

Quarrels often occur, but a regular stand-up fight appears to be unknown, the men usually contenting themselves with abusive language, or at most a sudden blow or stone-throwing. A woman when angered may use very abusive language towards a man, as she would be practically safe from any fear of physical violence on his part, even when she was very provoking. [578] [81]

On the other hand, they are not without faults. In their ordinary life they are thriftless, and not too cleanly in many of their habits, and have but little regard for ordinary sanitary laws; their veracity, too, is not altogether unimpeachable, while the people of the mainland allege that they have a very strong aversion to the payment of debts, rent, and cess, for the last-named of which they owe over £1300. [515] [651]

The habits and manners of the people of Shark are much the same as those described above. The people are noted for their loyalty to one another; they never tell any stranger anything about their local affairs. They are kindly and civil to visitors, always crowding down to assist them on landing, but are said to be capable of acts of ferocity when roused. [609]

5. *Folk-names*.—The following list of fifty-one surnames comprises all those now to be met with on the islands. Some of these names, however, are those of families not long established on the islands, while others, formerly common, as Gorham and Halligan, are now without representatives. [551]

The Gorhams are still, to some extent, connected with Inishbofin, as one of them is proprietor of the only shop there worth the name, and in addition holds a farm, but he lives on the mainland, and manages them by deputy, only occasionally visiting the place himself. It is possible that, owing to the heavy emigration, other surnames may also have disappeared. In the list of surnames given in the [444]

- 551 Aran report there occurs the name Ryder, marked as having originally come from Inishbofin.¹

SURNAME OF INISHBOFIN—No. of FAMILIES, 186.

Surname.	Number of Families.	Surname.	Number of Families.
Allies, ...	1	Lavelle, ...	15
Baker, ...	3	Lacy, ...	5
Barret, ...	4	Mannion, ...	3
Burke, ...	6	Martin, ...	1
Clogherly, ...	9	Moran, ...	6
Cloonane, ...	2	Melia, ...	10
Coyne, ...	1	Madden, ...	1
Corbett, ...	1	Mullen, ...	1
Concannon, ...	8	Mogan, ...	1
Conneely, ...	4	M'Cann, ...	1
Cummins, ...	1	M'Namara, ...	1
Cunnane, ...	7	M'Donagh, ...	4
Davis, ...	1	M'Kendrick, ...	1
Darcy, ...	1	Naughton, ...	4
Davin, ...	1	Price, ...	2
Dimond, ...	1	Powel, ...	2
Grodan, ...	1	Prendergast, ...	2
Halloran, ...	8	Quigley, ...	1
Hart, ...	3	Reilly, ...	1
Hughes, ...	4	Scuffle, ...	22
Joyce, ...	4	Smith, ...	1
King, ...	4	Tierney, ...	11
Kerrigan, ...	2	Toole, ...	4
Kenny, ...	1	Ward, ...	2
Leenane, ...	2	Walsh, ...	1

SURNAME OF INISHSHARK.—No. of FAMILIES, 26.

Surname.	Number of Families.	Surname.	Number of Families.
Cloonane, ...	6	Lucy, ...	6
Davis, ...	1	Lavelle, ...	2
Dimond, ...	2	Melia, ...	2
Halloran, ...	2	Murray, ...	3
King, ...	1	Ward, ...	1

6. *Language*.—As I am not competent to speak with any authority

¹ One of the women photographed at Westquarter was named Browne, a surname not given in the list. (See Pl. VIII.).

777 bless it," and any evil or illness happens afterwards, the chances are
that the blame will be put on the "bad eye." The evil-eye may be
[788] rendered harmless by making the sign of the cross in the name of the
Trinity.

754 There is an old woman in Bofin who is considered to be a witch,
and is said to be in the habit of putting the "bad eye" on people and
on domestic animals.

825 There are several beliefs about beasts and birds, such as that the
barnacles on the logs of drift wood, which often come ashore, develop
821 into geese, and that a gale of wind may be brought on by the simple
expedient of putting a black cat under a pot. Seals are thought to be
enchanted men, and will dive if they see a priest or a man in a black
coat; their appearance is said to portend bad weather. Who these
825 enchanted men were, and by whom they were placed under the en-
chantment, I could not ascertain, but the following mention of this
belief is made in a footnote by the late Mr. Hardiman, in his edition
of O'Flaherty's "H'Iar Connaught" (p. 27):—

• [551] "Many traditions, connecting these harmless animals with the
marvellous, are related along our western shores. Among these there
is one of a curious nature, viz. that at some distant period of time
several of the Clan Coneelys (Mac Congaile), an old family of Iar
Connaught, were by "Art magick," metamorphosed into seals! In
some places the story has its believers, who would no more kill a seal
or eat of a slaughtered one than they would of a human Coneely. It
is related as a fact that this ridiculous story has caused several of the
clan to change their name to Conolly."

776 Fairies are firmly believed in by many, and one man who is sub-
ject to epileptic fits relates long stories of his dealings with them.

Many tales are told about them and their doings, but few of them
can be collected by a stranger, as the people are very reticent on the
subject. They are supposed to exercise a malign influence on infants,
especially before baptism, stealing them if good-looking, and supplying
their places with puny, wizened changelings. These are got rid of,
and the true child recovered by very simple means; it is only neces-
sary to light a large fire and put on the pot to boil, and then to
threaten the changeling that he will be boiled, when he will vanish,
and the lost child be found in his place.

[775] Woman who die in childbirth or from puerperal fever are believed
to be carried away by the fairies to act as wet-nurses.

776 Mrs. Allies informed me that her baby is regularly spat upon by
854 the people when its nurse takes it out, in order to keep off the fairies

11: Browne D-5 (1894) 1895

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Kilmore

No.	Name.	Age.	Locality.	Eye Colour.	Hair Colour.	Skin.	Ears.	CEPHALIC.	
								Length.	Breadth.
1	Lavelle, Philip.	33	Inishkea, N.	blue	dark-brown	ruddy	Outstanding, lobes attached	202	160
2	Lavelle, William.	38	Inishkea, N.	light-grey	brown	ruddy	Outstanding, lobes attached	199	159
3	Cawley, Patrick.	40	Inishkea, S.	light-grey	dark	ruddy	Lobes attached	210	169
4	Cawley, Michael.	41	Inishkea, S.	blue	brown	ruddy	Outstanding, lobes absent	198	162
5	Lavelle, Michael.	32	Inishkea, N.	blue	light-brown	ruddy	Flat, lobes detached	202	150
6	Lavelle, William.	27	Inishkea, N.	dark-grey	black	pale	Outstanding, lobes detached	204	156
7	Reilly, Michael.	32	Inishkea, N.	blue	fair	ruddy	Flat, lobes attached	194	158
8	Reilly, John.	28	Inishkea, N.	blue	brown	ruddy	Outstanding	193	163
9	Lavelle, Patrick.	38	Inishkea, N.	blue	brown	ruddy	Outstanding	200	152
10	Lavelle, John.	21	Inishkea, N.	blue	brown	ruddy	—	200	151
11	O'Reilly, P. T.,	17	Carne, Mullet	dark-grey	dark	pale	Flat	186	162
12	Gaughan, Wm.,	28	Emlybeg, Mullet	dark-grey	dark	freckled	Flat, lobes absent	200	154
13	Dunlevy, Anth.,	60	Emlybeg, Mullet	blue	brown	ruddy	Outstanding, lobes attached	184	148
14	Gaughan, Michl.,	60	Moyrahan, Mullet	blue	black	ruddy	Outstanding	196	148
15	Clery, Francis,	22	Belmullet	dark-grey	black	ruddy	Outstanding, lobes attached	191	162
16	Coyle, William,	28	Shanaghy	light-brown	black	dark	Outstanding	196	154
17	Geraghty, Michl.,	30	Mullaghroe	blue	dark	ruddy	Outstanding, lobes attached	200	152
18	Cawley, Patrick,	58	Aughleam	blue	black	pale	Outstanding	200	158
19	Monaghan, Wm.,	61	Crosserenagh	blue	black	ruddy	Outstanding	194	156
20	Gaughan, John,	33	Gladree	blue	dark	pale	Flat, lobes attached	196	153
21	Reilly, Peter,	35	Duvillaun (P)	blue	brown	ruddy	Flat, lobes absent	200	149
22	Barrett, Michael,	44	Drumreeagh	light-grey	black	ruddy	Outstanding, lobes absent	196	154
23	Barrett, William,	30	Mullaghroe	blue	brown	ruddy	Outstanding, lobes attached	200	160
24	Henry, Phelim,	40	Name of locality not decipherable	blue	brown	ruddy	Outstanding, lobes attached	199	156
25	Coyle, Michael,	18	Belmullet	blue	dark	pale	Outstanding	191	150
26	M'Cormac, Thos.,	21	Aughaglassheen, Belmullet	dark-grey	dark	dark	Outstanding, lobes attached	195	154
27	Doocy, Patrick,	19	Porturlin	blue	dark	pale	Outstanding	190	150
28	Flannery, Thos.,	60	Srahataggle	light-grey	dark	pale	Outstanding	194	154
29	Gannon, Richard,	26	Carrowboy (P)	light-grey	black	ruddy	Outstanding	194	151
30	Dogherty, Wm.,	21	Portacloy	green	red	ruddy	Outstanding, lobes attached	196	159
31	Naughton, Michl.	40	Portacloy	blue	dark	ruddy	Flat, lobes absent	190	157

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No.	Name.	Age.	Locality.	Eye Colour.	Hair Colour.	Skin.	Ears.	CERPHALIC.	
								Length.	Breadth.
32	Magrath, Patk.,	44	Portacloy	blue	dark	pale	Flat	178	152
33	Bourne, William,	33	Portacloy	light-grey	brown	ruddy	Flat	199	155
34	Bourke, John,	35	Portacloy	blue	dark	ruddy	Flat, lobes attached	200	160
35	Toole, Thomas,	33	Portacloy	blue	dark	ruddy	Outstanding	189	151
36	Hogan, John,	40	Portacloy	blue	dark	ruddy	Flat, lobes attached	194	165
37	Bourke, Domk.,	21	Portacloy	blue	dark	ruddy	Flat	203	160
38	Hevernan, Philip,	50	Aughleam, Mullet	light-grey	dark	ruddy	Outstanding	200	154
39	Reilly, James,	35	Drum, Mullet	light-grey	brown	pale	Outstanding	198	154
40	Kane, Richard,	—	Fallmore, Mullet	green	brown	—	Outstanding	211	161
41	—	—	Mullet	blue	brown	pale & freckled-	Outstanding	186	164
42	M'Loughlin, Th.,	25	Blacksod, Mullet	blue	brown	pale	Flat	197	154
43	Meenaghan, Th.,	18	Blacksod, Mullet	light-grey	brown	ruddy	Outstanding, lobes attached	196	159
44	Dixon, —,	50	Tip., Mullet	blue	dark	dark	Attached lobules	196	153
45	Cafferky, Hugh,	—	Tip., Mullet	blue	brown	ruddy	Attached lobules	198	148
46	Covle, Francis,	47	Tip., Mullet	blue	dark	ruddy	Flat	204	161
47	Padden, Domk.,	22	Tip., Mullet	blue	brown	pale	Outstanding, lobes absent	196	156
48	Padden, John,	18	Tip., Mullet	blue	dark	pale, freckled-	Flat, lobes absent	194	150
49	Dixon, James,	28	Tip., Mullet	blue	brown	pale	Flat, lobes absent	200	156
50	Lavelle, Anthony,	24	Tip., Mullet	green	black	ruddy	Flat, lobes absent	206	164
51	Meenaghan, Ml.,	—	Inishkea, S.	green	dark	ruddy	Flat, lobes attached	196	159
52	M'Ginty, Owen,	35	Inishkea, S.	blue	black-brown	ruddy	Outstanding, lobes attached	208	162
53	Monaghan, Ml.,	59	Inishkea, S.	light-brown	black	dark	Outstanding	192	160
54	Keane, Patrick,	19	Inishkea, S.	blue	fair	ruddy, freckled-	Outstanding	195	164
55	O'Donnell, John,	24	Inishkea, S.	blue	fair	ruddy, freckled-	Outstanding, lobes attached	204	157
56	Dixon, Patrick,	33	Aghadoon, Mullet	blue	brown	ruddy	Flat	204	158
57	Carey, Martin,	26	Aghadoon, Mullet	dark-grey	black	ruddy	Outstanding, lobes absent	194	162
58	Lavelle, Patrick,	30	Aghadoon, Mullet	blue	dark	ruddy	Flat	202	157
59	Dixon, Patrick,	30	Aghadoon, Mullet	green	black	pale	Flat	208	159
60	Burke, John,	23	Belmullet	blue	brown	ruddy	Flat, lobes attached	194	164
61	Joyce, Patrick,	18	Buncrena, Mullet	blue	fair	ruddy	Outstanding	191	156
62	Padden, Michael,	22	Knockna-shambo, Mullet	blue	brown	dark	Flat, lobes attached	195	154

- 55/ 5. *Folk Names.*—The following list of surnames was obtained, comprising all those of the district, with the exception of a few new comers, and the names of the inhabitants of the town of Belmullet:—

Surname.	Number of Families.	Surname.	Number of Families.
Barrett, ...	27	Garrett, ...	1
Bingham, ...	3	Gavan, ...	2
Boland, ...	1	Gaughan, ...	23
Boylan, ...	2	Gaynard, ...	4
Brotherick, ...	3	Geoghan, ...	2
Burnes, ...	3	Geraghty, ...	15
Burke, ...	2	Gibbon, ...	1
Carden, ...	1 ¹	Gilbert, ...	1
Carey, ...	12	Gilboy, ...	1
Cattigan, ...	2	Ginnelly, ...	8
Causfield, ...	1	Ginnings, ...	1
Cawley, ...	13	Ginty, ...	1
Connell, ...	2	Goonan, ...	1
Connolly, ...	1	Gonigal, ...	1
Connor, ...	2	Hannely, ...	1
Conroy, ...	3	Haveron, ...	7
Conway, ...	3	Henry, ...	1
Costello, ...	1	Henaghan, ...	4
Coogrove, ...	1	Heaveran, ...	3
Coyle, ...	5	Hogan, ...	1
Craine, ...	7	Hopkins, ...	1
Cuff, ...	1	Horkin, ...	4
Curduff, ...	4	Howard, ...	3
Curley, ...	1	Hughes, ...	1
Davitt, ...	3	Joyce, ...	7
Deane, ...	8	Keane, ...	5
Dent, ...	1	Kelly, ...	5
Devanny, ...	1	Keeraghan, ...	1
Diamond, ...	2	Kearney, ...	1
Dinnery, ...	2	Kennedy, ...	6
Diver, ...	2	Kilker, ...	3
Dixon, ...	16	Kilkoyne, ...	1
Dogherty, ...	1	King, ...	1
Doogan, ...	2	Lally, ...	9
Dunleavy, ...	4	Langan, ...	1
Earley, ...	6	Lavelle, ...	31
Egan, ...	2	Lenaghan, ...	1
Follan, ...	1	Loftus, ...	1
Friel, ...	1	Lynch, ...	1
Gallagher, ...	8	Lynskey, ...	2
Gammell, ...	1	Lyons, ...	1
Gannon, ...	3	Malowney, ...	1
Garvan, ...	1	M'Andrew, ...	8

¹ Not native.

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LIST OF SURNAMES—continued.

Surname.	Number of Families.	Surname.	Number of Families.
M'Cormack, ..	1	Neely, ...	1
M'Dermott, ..	1	O'Boy, ...	1
M'Donnell, ..	5	O'Donnell, ..	4
M'Loughlin, ..	1	O'Mallon, ..	1
M'Ginty, ...	4	O'Malley, ..	2
M'Grath, ...	5	Padden, ...	16
M'Guinness, ..	2	Palmer, ...	1
M'Hale, ...	4	Philbin, ...	3
M'Intyre, ...	3	Quigley, ...	1
M'Mannam, ..	2	Reilly, ...	27
M'Namara, ..	1	Richards, ..	1
M'Neely, ...	1	Ruane, ...	5
M'Nulty, ...	3	Ruddy, ...	7
Meenaghan, ..	14	Scanlon, ...	2
Monaghan, ..	20	Tighe, ...	10
Monnelly, ...	4	Togher, ...	12
Monghan, ...	4	Tollst, ...	1
Moran, ...	1	Toole, ...	2
Mullaney, ...	1	Walker, ...	2
Mr. phy, ...	9	Walshe, ...	10
Murray, ...	4	Ward, ...	1
Nallon, ...	2	Williams, ..	4
Neary, ...	1	Wilson, ...	4

551

While the original localities of some of these names are easily traced, those of others are very obscure, and this for several reasons: one of these is the anglicising of old Irish surnames, often into forms bearing little or no resemblance to the original; which here, as in other parts of the country, has taken place to a very great extent: a second is the hibernicising of the names and branches of Welsh and Anglo-Norman families, e.g. M'Andrew, which has been adopted by a branch of the Barretts: a third difficulty is the use by many of the people of double surnames, one employed when speaking Irish, the other in speaking English; thus, Togher is anglicised Swift.

The following names are traceable, either by tradition, or by historical evidence.

(A.) The ancient surnames of the territory (Hy Fiachrach), in which this district was included, still persist to a large extent, though in altered forms; and all the principal of these now extant, as far as

- 551 could be ascertained, are given below in both the ancient and the modern forms.

Modern Form.	Ancient Name.	©
Boland, ...	O'Beollain.	
Burnes, ...	Mac Conboirne.	
Conroy, ...	O'Mailchonairi.	
Connolly, ...	Mac Conghaile.	
Crain or Crean, ...	O'Criadhchen.	
Doogan = Egan, ...	Mac Egan.	
Earley, ...	O'Mailfomhair.	
Friel, ...	O'Farghil (from Ulster originally).	
Gannon, ...	Mag Fhionnain.	
Gaughan, ...	O'Gaibhtheachain.	
Heaveran & Haveron, ...	O'Fuathmharain.	
Henaghan, ...	O'h-Eidhneachan.	
Hughes, ...	O'h-Aodha.	
Kean, or Kane, ...	O'Cathan, or O'Caithneadh.	
Kearney, ...	O'Cearnaigh.	
Lavelle, ...	O'Maolfabhaill.	
Loftus, ...	O'Lachtna.	
Lyons, ...	O'Liathain (?).	
Mac Dermott, ...	_____	
Mac Hale, ...	Mac Cele.	
Mac Grath, ...	O'Moran.	
Meenaghan, ...	O'Muinheachain.	
Moran, ...	O'Moran.	
Monghan, ...	Mochain (originally from Roscommon) (?).	
Murphy, ...	O'Murchada.	
Murray, ...	O'Muireadhaigh.	
Ruane, ...	O'Ruaidhin.	
Ruddy, ...	Brodaibh.	
Scanlon, ...	Scanlain.	

Although these are the only names which I have been able to trace, (chiefly from O'Donovan), yet there can be no doubt that many other surnames of the region are quite as long established, though the families bearing them may not have been of sufficient historical importance to have received record.

(s.) The next in order of antiquity are Welsh or Anglo-Norman families, who, for so long, held the reins of power in this part of

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Ireland. Barrett, Burke, Carey, Joyce, M'Andrew, Walsh, and probably Williams (if it be, as is alleged, a form of Mac William or Mac Quillin). 551 ●

(c.) The immigrants from Ulster come next, amongst whose descendants are said to be the O'Donnells, Connells, Doghertys, Gallaghers, Geraghtys, Reillys (from Cavan), and perhaps M'Loughlins.

(d.) The Mac Cormicks came into the district in the reign of James I.

(e.) Last come names of English origin, the most ancient of which seems to be Bingham, dating from the reign of Elizabeth. Tollet, and probably Dixon, are names of descendants of the Shane settlers. The other English names are of shorter standing, and some of them may really be anglicised local surnames.

The names of the English settlers signed to the petition to Sir Henry Bingham, sometime in the reign of Queen Anne, are Higginbotham, Maxwell, Dennistoun, Linney, Langford, Tollett, Houston, Parker, Gamble, Calwell, and Low; of these, Tollett is the only one now found in the parish, if Gammell be not a corrupted form of Gamble.¹

IV.—SOCIOLOGY.

1. *Occupations*.—Excluding the inhabitants of the little town of Belmullet, in which most of the tradesmen reside, the people are, as a rule, either fishermen or farmers, or they combine both occupations. There are a few large holders and proprietors, but the majority of the farms are of small size. These holdings are but poorly fenced, a frequent cause of dispute. Fences are usually earthen or turf, but on the islands dry stone walls, such as are seen in Aran, are common. The principal crops are barley, oats, rye, and potatoes. All the farming is rude and primitive. Spade labour is practically universal, the spades being of modern form, as the old "gowel"² or "gowel-gob," a two-bladed or forked wooden spade formerly used here, has long been extinct. 463 241 [351] 412

In 1834 there were only 3 ploughs and the same number of carts in use in the Mullet: now (1895) the number of ploughs is 30, and of carts 63. [407] [493]

¹ Though these settlers are spoken of as English by the various writers who have mentioned the colony, yet the majority of these surnames appear to be Scotch.

² A specimen of this curious agricultural implement is figured in the Catalogue of Antiquities of the Royal Irish Academy.

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Horehound (*Marrubium vulgare*), used as an expectorant.

Marsh-mallow (*Althæa officinalis*), used as poultice for "sore breast."

Mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*), used as an infusion for coughs.

Parsely (*Petroselinum sativum*), boiled in milk for "gravel."

Belladonna (*Atropa belladonna*), used for palpitation or "heart beat."

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It will be seen from this list that several of the remedies used are officinal; and others, though not officially recognised, possess medicinal properties.

3. *Legends and Traditions*.—There are many of these current in the district, but only a small number could be collected. Among all these, few bearing on the early history of this region seem to have come down to the present time, except the tradition of a great battle fought at Cross, in the Mullet, between the people of the country, and an invading army under a king of Munster who was slain in the fight, and over whose remains a tumulus was erected.

173

There is, so far as could be ascertained, no tradition as to the origin of the earlier inhabitants, either of the mainland, or of the islands; but the families whose ancestors came from Ulster two centuries ago are well known, and sometimes are called by the name of Ultagh, instead of their own surnames.

[551] ●

It would be expected that there would be some tales connected with the duns, of which there are several, but very few seem to be known, even the oldest inhabitants not seeming to have heard any history of them. The story of Dun Donald, related by Knight,¹ the vague tradition that Dunamoa was built by the Burkes, and besieged by the "Danes"; and another concerning Dun Fiachrach, which is believed to have been a favourite resting place for the children of Lir, and the fishermen of the neighbourhood say that the founder of the fort used to ride a "water-horse," on which he could leap across the deep caves on to the cliffs on each side of the dun. Many of the people ascribe these forts to "the Danes."

The favourite tales and poems are either ancient myth, or of a semi-religious character; legends of the saints forming a large portion of the old chroniclers' stock.

Mr Knight says²—"It is not from these cairns (Seefins) alone we claim Fingal and Ossian as *peculiarly* ours; we have heard them in *real song*, and many a winter's evening have I heard the old chronicler lying on his back quietly, in the bed beyond the fire, repeat the

¹ P. Knight, *Erris, &c.*, p. 166.

² *Ibid.*, p. 110.

BALLY AND BOOLEY

423 of different sizes and various origins into which rural Ireland
 621 is divided—townland, parish, barony, diocese, rural district and
 so on—it is the townland which most closely touches the daily
 life and social relations of the countryman. The townland is his
 postal address, for individual farms preserve their historic com-
 munal anonymity: they still belong to the townland though
 they have become separate units since the 'town' or cluster has
 broken up. The farms rarely carry any names other than those of
 their owner (Mulligan's place, Thomson's farm or merely
 [103] O'Brien's) and since there may be a dozen O'Briens in a
 [551] particular townland various nicknames¹ and patronymics are
 used to distinguish between them. Thus one farm may be
 Kilty O'Brien's (from its left-handed owner), another Patsy
 Kate O'Brien's (from the owner's mother), and a third Yank
 O'Brien's (a returned emigrant, this). Similarly, the public
 house takes its title not from the brewers who supply it or from
 heraldic beasts such as the Red Lion but from the Mooneys or
 the Murnaghans who own it. Shops in country towns, too,
 [602] carry personal names, and the nucleus of their trade is built up
 among blood relations.

423 The townland names, involving so many land holdings, are
 621 legal titles, and their Gaelic names, however erroneously spelt
 103 on the Ordnance Survey maps, are fossilized in their current
 forms. Only an Act of Parliament can alter them. A glance at
 any six-inch Ordnance map will reveal the strange names that
 Gaelic imagination contrived and English scribes corrupted.
 Here are a few which I have come across in Ulster: Ballywillwill,
 Ballymunterhiggin, Aghayeevoge, Treantaghmucklagh. In all
 Ireland there are no less than 5,000 townlands beginning with
 'Bally', forty-five of them named Ballybeg (little town). Some
 2,000 townlands begin with Knock (a hill); there are sixty
 called Tully and there are eleven Edens. The degree of repeti-
 tion shows that these names have come down from a time when
 life was organized on a local basis. There are between 60,000
 and 70,000 townlands in Ireland, averaging 325 acres or
 423 $\frac{1}{2}$ sq. mile, and the average townland population in the rural
 621 areas is perhaps fifty. In fact their size varies considerably,
 184

¹Writing in 1682 (*West-Meath*, 115), Sir Henry Piers noticed their prevalence
 in that county '... so as no man whatever can escape a nickname.'

14: Westropp B-4, 5 (no date) 1910-12
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Collectanea.

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MacNamara.¹⁷ A certain Flann MacDonnchaidh, a very poor man, lived near the bush long ago, and dreamt "again and again" that, if he went to the Bald Bridge, Droichiod maol-na-Luimneasigh (Ball's Bridge in Limerick City), he would find money and make his fortune. He went there and walked up and down until he was worn out. He was on the point of going away when a cobbler asked him what he was about, and he told his story. The cobbler laughed, and told how he himself had dreamed of finding treasure under a bush at a place called Skaghvickencrow, but had wasted no time in looking for it.¹⁸ MacDonnchaidh returned home, dug, and found a flag with an inscription in an unknown tongue. He left the stone on his hearth, and, as no local scholar could read it, he troubled no more about the matter. Years went by, and one night a wandering schoolmaster asked for hospitality, and of course got it. The "angel unawares" translated the inscription as "one side is more lucky than the other." Next day, when his guest was gone, MacDonnchaidh dug, and found so much money as to make rich men of himself and his descendants.¹⁹

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[574]

The only tale of church treasure I have met with is that the silver bells of either Killeany or Kilmoon church lie hidden in the brook between their ruins called from the legend Owenacluggan.

[778]

Funerals and graveyards.—Though I have frequently attended funerals of persons of all classes and denominations in many parts of Clare, I have very little to tell of the ceremonies. Sometimes I have seen spades crossed on a grave, and long ago saw three crosses, made of twigs from a hawthorn tree in a graveyard, placed on a coffin. The body is usually carried feet foremost round the graveyard sunwise, and sometimes, but rarely, three times. The horrible habit of digging out all the contents of the grave is usual; the older coffin planks are thrown away, and the human remains

764

¹⁷ *The Journal of the Limerick Field Club*, Part 4, p. 42.

¹⁸ Cf. the well-known story of the Swaffham tinker and London Bridge.

¹⁹ I heard this tale, perhaps in 1870, from John O'Halloran at Edenvale near Ennis, about the Crowes. Certainly that family (MacEnchroe's) has a hawthorn bush in its armorial bearings, and the motto "Skagh M'Enchroe." Dr. MacNamara conjectures that Flann's surname was really MacEnchroe.

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[P. 153, B]

- 551 192 In *The Aran Islands*¹ Synge makes the following observations on the system of personal names then in use (1898-1902):

When a child begins to wander about the island, the neighbours speak of it by its Christian name, followed by the Christian name of its father. If this is not enough to identify it, the father's epithet—whether it is a nickname or the name of his own father—is added.

Sometimes when the father's name does not lend itself, the mother's Christian name is adopted as epithet for the children.

Occasionally the surname is employed in its Irish form, but I have not heard them using the 'Mac' prefix when speaking Irish among themselves; perhaps the idea of a surname which it gives is too modern for them, perhaps they do use it at times that I have not noticed.

Sometimes a man is named from the colour of his hair. There is thus a Seaghan Ruadh (Red John), and his children are 'Mourteen Seaghan Ruadh,' etc.

The schoolmaster tells me that when he reads out the roll in the morning the children repeat the local name all together in a whisper after each official name and then the child answers. If he calls, for instance, 'Patrick O'Flaharty,' the children murmur, 'Patch Seaghan Dearg' or some such name, and the boy answers.

If an islander's name alone is enough to distinguish him it is used by itself, and I know one man who is spoken of as Eamonn. There may be other Edmunds on the island, but if so they have probably good nicknames or epithets of their own.

- [114
184] While on Tory Island (Oileán Thoraighe), Co. Donegal, in 1962, I collected the names of all living adults and found the system to be basically that reported by Synge for the Aran Islands, with enough distinctiveness to be worth a separate analysis.²

- 601 Kinship terms are rarely used among the islanders except
551 between young children and their parents and parents' siblings. Cousinship is indicated by saying of a person something like 'his mother and my father were the children of two brothers' (*Bhí a mháthair agus m'athair clann na beirte dearbhráthar*), or 'we are children of brother and sister' (*Támuid clann dearbhráthar agus deirbhshéathar*). But in a small community where the genealogical links between persons are common knowledge, such descriptive explanations are rarely called for. Personal names are used instead and in themselves help to indicate a person's position in the kinship structure by showing his line of descent for up to four generations.

- 551 A person will in fact have three sets of names: a Gaelic 'ceremonial' set; an English 'practical' set; and a Gaelic-English 'personal' set. A man's full Gaelic name will consist of his baptismal name followed perhaps by his 'epithet' such as Óg (young—usually means youngest of several brothers), Bán (fair), Mór (big), Beag (small—wee), followed by his surname. Such a combination might yield, for example, 'Pádraig Óg Mac Ruadhraigh.' A woman, strictly speaking, retains her family name on marriage and adds the descriptive phrase 'wife of' (literally 'woman of')

[585]

[P.153, C]

551 and the names of her husband, e.g. 'Máire Ní Dhubhghain
[585] bean Shéamuis Mhic Ruadhraigh'—literally, 'Mary,
daughter of Doochan, wife of James the son of Rory.' A
number of circumstances will determine whether or not
her husband's name will 'stick' as a surname or whether
she will go on being known by her maiden name. These
names in their full forms are only used on ceremonial
occasions such as dances—when a man or woman is called
upon to sing or step-dance—, or for prayers in church
during a serious illness, or for calling the roll in school, or
for putting on a tombstone.

551 The practical names are the rough English equivalents
191 of the Gaelic names, used in dealing with English-speakers
167 generally and particularly for use when working in England
464 and Scotland. The Government is usually dealt with in
English for several reasons, mainly because although the
islanders all speak Gaelic as their native tongue, the
language they read and write is English—a situation
brought about by the pattern of migrant labouring which
forced literacy on them when working in Britain. Also
they find 'Dublin' or 'civil service' Irish difficult to follow.
Most islanders, then, have an 'English' name. Our examples
would be 'Paddy Rogers' and 'Mary Doochan' to the out-
side world. Sometimes these names stick and are used
amongst the islanders rather like nicknames. Usually the
English version is a rough phonetic equivalent of the
Gaelic—Ó Duibhir becomes Diver, Ó Dubhghain becomes
Doogan or Duggan, Mac Fhlaitbheartaigh becomes Mac-
Clafferty, etc. Sometimes this is abandoned and an English
name taken for its 'likeness' to the Gaelic as with Mac-
Ruadhraigh and Rogers—Roger being the English name
most like 'Rory.' The name Fíoruisce is sometimes hope-
fully rendered Whorriskey, but mostly this is not even
tried and the simple 'Waters' is substituted. Those going
to England for work are particularly inclined to pick an
'English' name, i.e. one the foreman will recognize.

551 The third set of names, used for reference, consists of
two or more Christian names, either Gaelic or English or
both, 'strung' together in the manner described by Synge
for Aran. Some people have as many as five or six names
and 'epithets' strung together in this fashion. These names
are the names of lineal ancestors either on the mother's or
the father's side of the family. A person will take as many
names as is necessary to distinguish him from all other
persons, the surname system being inadequate for this task.
(Four surnames cover 80 per cent. of the population.) He
does not, however, pick these names arbitrarily but inherits
the whole string. He can stop at any point in the string.
Thus if a man was called 'Jimmy-Dhonnchadha-Mhuire-
Mhici,' his father must have been 'Donnchadh-Mhuire-
Mhici,' his paternal grandmother 'Máire-Mhici' or maybe
'Máire-Mhici-Tom.' Thus if our man wanted to add to
his names, he would have to add 'Tom.' Usually one or
at most two names are enough to distinguish a person, in

551 addition to his own. As Synge observes, if a man's name is unique in some way he may be known by it alone, although on Tory he will usually have a 'latent' string of names which he never actually uses but which could be used if his Christian name were to crop up again. If any of the ancestors in the 'string' had epithets (using this to mean descriptive terms), these are included. But there is a tendency to use only the epithet of the last person in the string. Sometimes, if an ancestor was firmly known by his surname (if, say, he was an immigrant and the first of his name on the island) then this is added also.⁴ Below are some examples of these names:

Eóghan-John-Dooley-Mhalainne

Dooley was a man from Malin in Co. Donegal.

Mary-John-Dooley-Mhalainne

Eóghan's sister.

Kate-Dooley-Mhalainne

His paternal aunt.

Jimmy-Mhuire-Bhilli

Jimmy-Mary-Willy (Billy)

Peggy-Phaidi-Shéamuis-Dhomhnaill

Peggy-Paddy-Jimmy-Donal

Pádraig-Hughdie-Dhuibhir

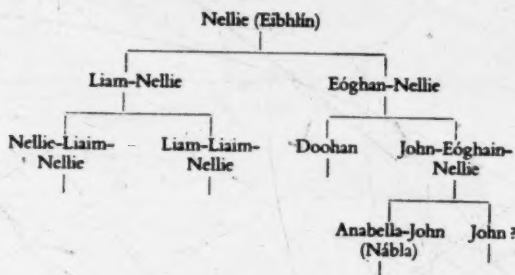
Patrick Hugh Diver

Paddy-Johnnie-Flaithbheartaigh

Paddy John (Mac)-Clafferty⁵

An alternative type of name—and a man may have two or three alternative types—consists of the addition of the Christian name of a parent to the surname. Thus two paternal first cousins might be respectively 'Jimmy Diver Nancy' and 'Jimmy Diver Madge.'

551 The segmentary process in the cognatic descent groups
611 on the island affects this naming mechanism. This is illustrated in the following diagram:



This is an actual descent group tracing its ancestry to a widow, Nellie Doohan. The first four generations of the group are shown here, there being eight altogether. Nellie's descendants, 'Clann Nellie,' are divided into the Liam-Nellies and the Eóghan-Nellies. Clann Liaim-Nellie are subdivided into the Nellie-Liaim-Nellies and the Liam-Liaim-Nellies. The descendants of Eóghan-Nellie are segmented into the John-Eóghain-Nellies and another group known as the Doohans. There have only been sons in this latter group, and they have tended to be known by the 'John Doohan Nancy' type of name. The four or five generations below those shown on the diagram are not clearly segmented as yet. Amongst these, the name continuity is not so strong, but they all regard themselves as 'Liam-Nellies' or 'John-Eóghain-Nellies' or Doohans' according to the level of segmentation relevant to their various collective activities.⁶ The degree to which the

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name continuity of such a group can be maintained, converging on the founder's name as in our example, is some measure of the continuing solidarity of the group. This tends to weaken after about six generations and the disintegration of the group is reflected in the native commentary—*Tá na h-ainmneacha caillte*, 'the names is lost.' The attempt to keep the name continuity often conflicts with the desire to distinguish person from person, hence the existence of alternative name types.

The following formula shows the ideal structure of the Tory name using the following symbols: C = Christian name, S = surname, E = epithet, Fa = father's Christian name, Mo = mother's Christian name. A symbol in the lower case indicates that the item can be omitted from the progression of names.

	Generation		
	0	+1	+2
Patrilateral		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Fa} \\ \text{e} \\ \text{es} \\ \text{s} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{FaFa} \\ \text{es} \\ \text{s} \\ \text{e} \\ \text{FaMo} \\ \text{es} \\ \text{s} \end{array} \right\}$	
	Ce + S	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fa} \\ \text{mo} \end{array} \right\}$	
Matrilateral		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mo} \\ \text{e} \\ \text{es} \\ \text{s} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{MoFa} \\ \text{es} \\ \text{s} \\ \text{e} \\ \text{MoMo} \\ \text{es} \\ \text{s} \end{array} \right\}$	

The columns represent the alternative possibilities, the rows the matrilinear and patrilinear 'progression' of names. The formula can be expanded according to the same rules.

To see how this basic choice between matrilinear and patrilinear 'progressions' worked out in practice I tabulated instances of each type of name progression in my collection, distinguishing by sex of nominee (m and f) but ignoring the optional epithets and surnames (Table I). I collected these names separately from the two settlements on the island, East Town (*Baile Thoir*) and West Town (*Baile Thiar*), and they are so listed on the table. It is commonly believed that the East is more traditional than the West, but this does not show up in any differences in the naming systems.

What emerges from this table is the overwhelming preference for taking the father's name (and his father's) by both men and women, and the fact that for both sexes one possible combination does not occur—m/f + Mo + MoMo. I am told that this has occurred in the past, but infrequently. The fourth cluster of name types in the table is a group of residual types. The oddities here are the girl who took her father's brother's name and the rest which skip a generation and start with the grandparental names. These cases usually result from an uncle or grandparents bringing up children in the absence of parents. If these relatives are seen as *in loco parentis* then the pattern remains the same as for the majority.

[184] This formula has been corrected according to the specifications given in *Man*, vol. 63, Article 248, p. 195, Dec. 1963—[Analysis]

[P. 155, A]

TABLE I

	Name type	West Town	East Town	Total
551	m + Fa	24	25	49
611	f + Fa	26	16	42
	m + Mo	13	4	17
184	f + Mo	6	4	10
	m + Fa + FaFa	15	5	20
	f + Fa + FaFa	13	4	17
	m + Mo + MoMo	0	0	0
	f + Mo + MoMo	0	0	0
	m + Fa + FaMo	0	3	3
	f + Fa + FaMo	2	1	3
	m + Mo + MoFa	0	3	3
	f + Mo + MoFa	0	1	1
	m + MoMo	2	1	3
	m + MoFa	3	1	4
	f + MoFa	1	0	1
	f + Fa + FaFa + FaFaFa	3	0	3
	f + FaFa + FaFaFa	0	1	1
	f + FaBro	0	1	1
	m + MoMo + MoMoFa + MoMoFaMo	3	0	3
	f + MoMo + MoMoFa + MoMoFaMo	1	0	1
		112	70	182

551 Table II summarizes the 'laterality preference' as it
611 affects men and women respectively.

TABLE II

	Patrilateral	Matrilateral	Total
m	72 (70.6 per cent.)	30 (29.4 per cent.)	102
f	67 (83.75 per cent.)	13 (16.25 per cent.)	80
Total	139 (76.4 per cent.)	43 (23.6 per cent.)	182

The figures in parenthesis are percentages of the row totals.

[162] The overall preference is, as we have seen, patrilateral, but there is an interesting minority preference amongst males for matrilinear names. Practically a third of the men and less than a sixth of the women have matrilinear names. There are several explanations for this trend amongst males. It may stem from the large number of widows with sons, or from the name continuity of the descent system. In a number of cases it follows from the fact that a man is given his father's Christian name as his own and hence takes his mother's name to distinguish him, although this is not all that common.

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551 Such a highly personalized naming system only works
611 within the particularistic boundaries of a small community.

182 The world at large is not interested in the particular ante-
 551 cedents of a man and the islanders recognize this in their
 611 use of surnames with the outside world. The old 'family' or clan names placed a man in his wider kinship group in the days when this was important—it no longer matters today. Within the community the naming system described above distinguishes a man from other men and places him in his immediate kin group. It helps to establish his descent. Research in small communities in Western societies may reveal similar systems serving similar ends but based on different diacritical criteria.⁸

Notes

113 ¹ J. M. Synge, *Four Plays and The Aran Islands*, Oxford, 1962, pp. 263f.

² Brief ethnographical details of Tory Island can be found in J. R. Fox, 'The Vanishing Gael,' *New Society*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1962.

551 ³ The second and subsequent names, when in Gaelic, are in the genitive. Some English names are Gaelicized and given a genitive form. I make no claims for the correctness of the spelling of the names given here (Irish spelling is pretty fluid), except that they are the forms recognized by literate islanders. I could not have made any headway with the Tory naming system and genealogies without the patient help of Máire Nic Fhlaitbhheartaigh bean Aodha Uí Dhubhghain, Pádraig Óg Mac Ruadhraigh, and Aodh Ó Dubhghain.

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⁴ See Synge's comment on the use of the surname and the 'Mac' prefix. In the 'ceremonial' names on Tory both Mac and Ó are used, but when a surname is included in the 'personal' set, these prefixes are not usually used.

⁵ This could be Paddy-John Uí Fhlaitbhheartaigh—roughly Paddy John O'Flaherty. The pronunciation would be the same.

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⁶ A fuller analysis of the structure and functions of these descent groups is in preparation. They seem to be mainly concerned with landholding—as a consequence of the equal division of land amongst all a man's (or woman's) heirs, and the system of keeping land in trust for migrants. Their other functions lie mainly in the sphere of mutual support amongst members in times of crisis.

⁷ This distribution could only occur by chance in one sample out of 20: $\chi^2_{(1)} = 4.30$: $p = < .05$.

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⁸ The Welsh system of stringing ancestral names together with 'ap' is obviously similar to the Tory method, but the Welsh, I believe, used only male names. Mr. Andrew Dunsire tells me that in some Scottish coastal villages a man will be known by the boat he owns, his children inheriting this epithet. In some working-class communities which I know in England a system similar to that on Tory operates. A man may be known as 'Mary's Tom' and his son as 'Mary's Tom's Johnnie,' etc. Synge notes the use of occupations as marks of distinction in Wales and comments on the lack of occupational differentiation on the Aran Islands which makes this method impossible. In some rural communities a man is known by the name of his farm. W. M. Williams in *The Sociology of an English Village* (Routledge, 1956) gives examples of this. See also his fascinating discussion of Naming and Family Continuity, pp. 79–82 and 229f. The contrast with the Tory system is marked, however, in that one can, in Gosforth, move from 'side' to 'side' in choice of names—both surnames and Christian names being used.

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—with a strong agnatic bias. Rights and duties are distributed among cognates, but they are less strong among uterine and affinal kin, as well as among relatives of both lines according to distance from ego. Rights and duties include obligations to assist and defend, and mutual assistance in Inis Beag characterizes farming, fishing, housebuilding, unloading turf, carrying the coffin at a funeral, and many other activities. Reciprocation in some form for services rendered is almost an obsession among both kin and non-kin, and not to reciprocate adequately means to lose face. The matter of mutual defense will be considered in later sections and chapters.

- 551 Only 13 surnames are represented on the island, and there are 27 families bearing a single one, 11 bearing another, and 8 a third. Most Christian names are those of the Blessed Virgin and of saints, especially from the Irish past. Michael, Patrick, Sean (which often is transformed into John, although Eoin is John in Irish), Thomas, Martin, Peter, Coleman, and Joseph—in that order—are the most popular first names for males, while for females it is Mary, Brigid, Margaret, Ann, Catherine, Sarah, Nora, and Teresa. In the past, it was customary for Inis Beag women to bear their offspring at home attended by nurse, midwife, or skilled female relative; but during the past decade, most infants have been delivered in the mainland hospital serving the island, where mothers have learned of "different" surnames and have assigned them to their own children—such as Gerard, Xavier, Christopher, and Pius for boys, and Rita, Carmel, Veronica, and Jude for girls.

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Each person in the island has a term of reference which never is employed as a term of address.² For a man, it is a nickname or his Christian name followed by that of his father: "The General" or Sean Michael. Women ordinarily are not given nicknames; if single, they append their father's first name to their own, and if married, their husband's. An adult man may bear the Christian name of his mother following his own rather than his father's, if, for instance, his mother was widowed early or unduly dominated her husband. Nicknames relate to such things as occupations, abodes, personality idiosyncracies, stature, color of hair, and events of the past; and many are uncomplimentary to the degree of fomenting disputes if uttered at improper times or to inappropriate persons.

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Before turning to reciprocal relationships which exist between certain agnatic, uterine, and affinal relatives, it is necessary to examine two phenomena which have a vital bearing on kinship and other behavior: the Oedipus complex and male solidarity. Fr. Alexander J. Humphreys says that there is in Ireland a "... centripetal mechanism built into the fabric of rural life. This is the strong, preferential love of the rural mother for her sons. She is a magnetic center of the family and her cohesive power is affection. This love, which leads her 'to slave' for her sons and to demand that her daughters do likewise, cushions the sons' hard lot. It mollifies the constant rub of his subordination to his father . . ."

² A term of reference is a name used to refer to a person who is not present, while a term of address is a name used to address a person to his face. In America, one might say in referring to his mother, "That woman walking toward us is my mother," and then greet her as she joins the group, "Hi, Mom."; in this case, mother is a term of reference and Mom a term of address. Often terms of address in the Western world are Christian names, and some terms of reference and address may be identical. Anthropologists usually collect only terms which are used to designate various kin.